

A BRIEF HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE AMERICAN  
FEDERATION OF TEACHERS' FIGHT FOR INTEGRATION



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SECOND PRINTING, April 3, 1964

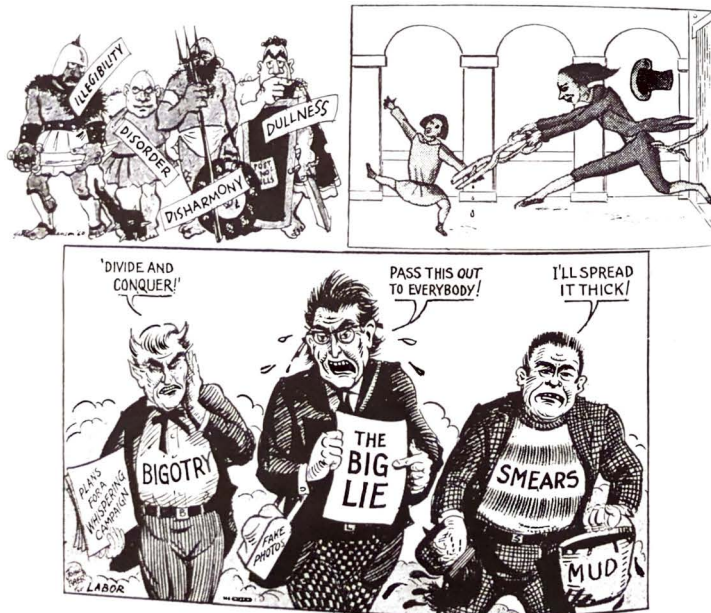
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## INTRODUCTION

Recently, the United States Civil Rights Commission gave a detailed report concerning education. In brief, these comments were noted: "Discrimination in higher education, as at the public school level centers today on the American Negro, who represents more than a tenth of the total population. The relatively few members of other non-Caucasian races in the population seeking public higher education do not appear to be the object of discriminatory admission practices at this time.

"The public colleges of the Northern and Western states are not free from suspicion of discrimination against Negroes. Some 20 per cent of the public institutions in those states inquire as to the race of an applicant or ask for a photograph, or both, and, if the requirement of a personal interview is counted as another possible method of determining the race of an applicant, the proportion providing themselves with this information increases to 33.2 per cent...Still, the heart of the problem of discrimination against the Negro today lies in the Southern states. Here, a pattern of racially segregated colleges developed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and complete separation--although not equality--of the races in public education was the rule until 1936, when Donald Murray was admitted to the University of Maryland Law School upon an order of the Maryland Court of Appeals. In the years since then, the walls of segregation have been breached repeatedly...."



NOT THE AMERICAN WAY!

Finally, The New York Times on January 17, 1961, said in an editorial: "The Federal Government is having a hard enough time enforcing the principle of non-segregation in the schools, as required by the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. It cannot wisely or legally add to the difficulty of this task by subsidizing segregation at any level."

The American Federation of Teachers has been a pioneer in this area and has exerted strong leadership through the years in eliminating segregation in American education. Much of this leadership came before the action of the United States Supreme Court. The Court had a guidepost to follow by studying actions of AFT. A brief historical review of AFT actions, from 1947 through 1958 are noted below:

## CONVENTION ACTION

### I. AFT CONVENTION, August 21, 1947, pp. 495-504:

There was long and detailed discussion, but the following policy developed: "Therefore, be it resolved, That the national organization should operate under a national policy which shall discourage the establishment of segregated locals; it shall urge locals in areas where separate locals are now established to function together and to work toward the establishment of a single local; it shall, before granting a separate charter to any local on racial lines, cause the representatives of a different racial group seeking a separate charter, to meet together and consider together, the desirability of 'forming one union....'"

### II. AFT CONVENTION, July 10, 1948, pp. 39-41:

"There have been some significant gains as well as set-backs in the struggle in the U. S. for practices in accordance with our basic principles of freedom and equality of all men.

"The reports of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and on Higher Education, the Supreme Court decision barring the use of courts for enforcing restrictive covenants, the granting of citizenship to many Japanese residents and the many individual achievements by A.F.T. locals and community groups all indicate a significant growth of democratic public opinion.

"We cannot ignore, however, the increasing evidences of reaction which were set in motion by the war and its aftermath, and which are now jeopardizing the gains made thus far.

"The American Federation of Teachers therefore must work *all the harder* both within the organization and without for those principles which make education and thereby all America more democratic. In order to do this it is essential that each year's work should strengthen and expand that of the preceding year. For this reason the report of the Committee on Democratic Human Relations will not report much that is new but rather recommend those activities which it deems will best bring to realization its 1947 convention report. In this way we can get beyond mere 'resolving' and discover better ways of eliminating the difficulties blocking our goal....

"...The divergent points of view on the resolutions were not on the basic principle of opposition to segregated locals within the A.F.T. but on method; specifically whether we should build on and strengthen the 1947 resolution on segregated locals or whether we should declare now a policy of refusing to grant any more charters to separate racial groups.

"Appropos of separate locals, the Committee recommends:

"1. A statement of national policy that segregated locals are basically a violation of Section 9, Article III of the A.F.T. constitution which states: 'No discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members because of race, religious faith or political activities or belief, except that no applicant whose political actions are subject to totalitarian control such as Fascist, Nazi or Communist shall be admitted to membership.'

- "2. Further, it recommends that any group requesting a charter shall be informed of this policy, and that before granting any separate charter, the National Office, in cooperation with representatives of local A.F.L. mixed unions, shall bring together any groups seeking a separate (charter) for the purpose of considering the desirability of forming a single local.

A record of all negotiations, successful or unsuccessful in establishing one local, shall be kept by the Secretary-Treasurer and be made available to locals requesting the information. The locals shall treat the information as confidential.

- "3. In regard to the separate locals which already exist the Committee recommends several cooperative activities to give separate locals the experience of working together and ultimately of forming one local:

"a. That the Executive Council of the A.F.T. be specifically authorized to assist locals in establishing a joint board to plan and supervise several joint committees of the two locals to work on common school problems and others of mutual interest.

"b. That the Executive Council, in cooperation with the locals, with the Regional Vice President, and with the local Central Trades, organize a workshop, an institute, or a lecture series on some topic of special interest in the area.

"c. That the Executive Council and the regional vice president arrange a joint meeting of the two locals to receive the reports of the joint board and the joint committees and take up any other matters of mutual interest.

"d. That the Executive Council will report to the next convention the success or failure of any of these activities, the reasons for the failure and the work necessary for success.

- "4. Further recommendations of the Committee to the 1948 Convention are:

"a. A continuation of the scholarship by the Committee on Democratic Human Relations to the A.F.T. summer workshop.

"b. A course in the A.F.T. workshop of techniques in education for better human relations.

"c. A re-submission to the U. S. Office of Education of the program presented last October by a committee of the A.F.T. so that the Office of Education will adopt a more positive program than that at present for safeguarding and extending our democracy.

"d. Support of legislation which will bar discrimination and segregation in schools, colleges, and professional schools and in the employment and assignment of minority group teachers.

"e. A campaign among school boards to adopt such practices in teacher training in school administration and in school relationships as will make the schools effective agents for strengthening and expanding democracy.

"f. The preparation by the Committee on Democratic Human Relations, in cooperation with the Washington locals, of a small pamphlet on the undemocratic practices current in Washington with the A.F.T. program for education for democratic human relations.

"g. Preparation by the A.F.T. legislative representative in cooperation with the A.F.L. legal staff of legislation which will enforce the recommendations of the President's Committees on Civil Rights and on Higher Education.

"In conclusion, we quote from the report, 'To Secure These Rights,' 'All of our governments federal, state and local must be uncompromising enemies of discrimination which is prejudice come to life. In turn, they must be reinforced by education -- education through carefully planned



## Justice for My Children



experience to break down the fears of groups; education through information to dispel ignorance about our heritage and our civil rights. There is no need to choose between these approaches -- Neither one is adequate for the complete securing of our rights; both are indispensable to it."

### III. AFT CONVENTION, August 25, 1949, p. 22:

"Whereas, Racial discrimination in Washington, D. C. constitutes a disgrace to our nation, as well as defiance of its Constitution; and

"Whereas, Such practice in our national capital is in sharp contrast to our support of liberal, democratic ideals abroad; and

"Whereas, Nations which think their interests conflict with ours are sure to use this situation against us for propaganda in the well known game of power politics; and

"Whereas, Recent manifestations of racial intolerance in Washington have greatly aggravated this deplorable situation; and

"Whereas, Our convention has previously endorsed resolutions with the same intent; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers in Convention assembled petition the President of the United States to stop, by an executive order discrimination against members of minority groups in the use of all buildings operated directly by the Government of the United States in the District of Columbia; and to petition the leaders of Congress and the President to take all measures within their respective powers to end discrimination and segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia; and, be it also

"RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers commend the Secretary of the Interior and the commissioners of the District of Columbia for their recent appointment of a commission to recommend steps for the elimination of segregation in public recreation facilities in the District of Columbia; and, be it also

"RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers hereby endorse and offer active support to the bill introduced by Senator Douglas of Illinois, to provide a National Theater in Washington, D. C., open to the use of all citizens; and, be it further

"RESOLVED: That copies of this resolution be sent not only to the President and Vice-President of the United States, but to the Speaker of the House, the chairmen of the District of Columbia Committee in both Houses of Congress, the floor leaders of both major political parties, and to the eight members of the American Federation of Teachers who are members of the Congress of the United States."

### IV. AFT CONVENTION, August 22, 1951, pp. 62-63:

"Then, too, the platform adopted by the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth in charting a 10-year program for advancing the well being of all the nation's children gives nation-wide support to many objectives sought by this committee...the most important...the abolition of racial segregation in education. Even more significant support is in a resolution of the World Congress (April 18-21), Brussels, Belgium, sponsored by the International Federation of Free Trade Unions which reads in part: 'The general educational system of the state must be developed so as to provide opportunities for proper training for all people without distinction of race, creed or sex.'

"These objectives within the framework both of the AFT purpose of 'democracy in education... education for democracy' and of the democratic principles of our national government give us an opportunity not only to show the inherent soundness of democracy as a way of life but also the relation of its spiritual values to our religious creeds.

"The first essential in the day-to-day struggle for better human relations is a measure to test the correlation between opinions and actions and professed values and principles. The Committee suggests the democratic yardstick as a guiding set of principles.

"a. This opinion or action should recognize the dignity and worth of all persons.

"b. It should enable everyone to participate in the formulation of policies affecting him.

"c. It should offer everyone equality of opportunity to share in public services and benefits.

"In accordance with this yardstick, the Committee for Democratic Human Relations makes the following recommendations for action by the American Federation of Teachers. While these recommendations may seem unrelated, they are definitely related and add up to creating a 'climate of opinion' where the practice of democratic human relations will be the usual and accepted behavior.

"A. A re-affirmation of national policy that segregated locals are a basic violation of Article III, Section II, of the AFT Constitution which states:

"No discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members because of race, religious faith, or political activities or belief except that no applicant whose political actions are subject to totalitarian control such as Fascist, Nazi or Communist shall be admitted to membership."

"B. We recommend that the constitution of every Local should contain the above clause in line with national policy.

"C. In regard to the separate Locals in existence, the Committee recommends several cooperative activities to give separate Locals the experience of working together and ultimately of forming one Local.

"1. That the Executive Council of the AFT be specifically authorized to assist Locals in establishing a joint board to plan and supervise several joint committees of the Locals to work on problems of mutual interest.

"2. That the Executive Council, in cooperation with the Locals and with the local Central Trades, organize a workshop, an institute or a lecture series on some topic of special interest in the area.

"3. That the Executive Council arrange a joint meeting of the Locals to receive the reports of the joint board and the joint committees as well as to take up any other topics of mutual interest.

"4. That the Executive Council report to the next convention the success of any of these activities, the reasons for the lack of success, and the work necessary for future progress.

"5. The Committee desires to inform the Convention body that a similar recommendation was passed on the Convention floor in 1950. The Convention Committee deplors the lack of action in the ensuing period. We urge that the Executive Council give immediate and more serious consideration to this question and be prepared to give a detailed report on this matter for consideration to the Convention in 1952.

"6. That the Executive Council carry out all the above activities in Washington, D. C. in 1951-52 along with an intensive organizing drive aiming at forming an integrated Local in the national capital.

"D. Establishment by each Local of the AFT of a committee for democratic human relations to

"1. work closely with the national committee to put over in the local area the program adopted by the convention;

"2. promote within its local school system a program of education for democratic human relations for the purpose of abolishing eventually all types of segregation and discrimination.

"E. A continuation of the summer workshop scholarship of the committee at the University of Wisconsin: an expression of appreciation to the Jewish Labor Committee for its second scholarship to the workshop.

"F. A re-submission of the AFT program to the U. S. Office of Education for a campaign for democratic human relations in the public schools to be carried on with the same zeal and vigor as the World War II program of the Office.

"G. Accumulation in the Research Department of printed and audio visual materials on human relations with emphasis on magazines for young people. In this connection, Junior Red Cross is to be commended for its articles on the contributions of various groups to our common cultural life and for its stimulus to other magazines to follow this example."

#### V. AFT CONVENTION, August 22, 1952, pp. 169-174:

"Whereas, The Supreme Court of the United States has consented to hear the Clarendon County, South Carolina, school case, entitled *Briggs v. Elliott*; and

"Whereas, This case seeks to reverse the 'separate but equal' doctrine which was established in the Case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, and contends that segregation in public schools is illegal per se; and

"Whereas, The Supreme Court in the *Sweatt-McLaurin* Case has already affirmed the illegality of such segregation with respect to the graduate level of instruction; and

"Whereas, It is highly desirable that the decisions in the *Sweatt-McLaurin* case should be applied to education below the graduate level, including all elementary and secondary schools;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers in convention assembled, indicate its whole-hearted support of the principle of non-segregation in the public schools, by proceeding to enter the Case of *Briggs v. Elliott*, *amicus curiae* not later than October 13, 1952."

"Whereas, The AFT must constantly reaffirm its basic aims in the field of human relations and re-evaluate its practices in the light of those aims; and

"Whereas, The AFT must plan each year to expand its activities in this area;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That each local which has not already done so be urged to establish a committee for democratic human relations to:

"(a) work more closely with the national committee in order to implement in its local area program adopted by the convention and to

"(b) promote within its school system a program of education for democratic human relations for the purpose of abolishing all types of segregation and discrimination; and

"(c) work in cooperation with local central Trades Councils and other reputable agencies in sponsoring workshops, institutes, lecture series and other projects that would meet the human relations needs of the community."

"Whereas, The motto of the AFT is Democracy in Education and Education for Democracy;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That a campaign be undertaken by locals in areas where there are numbers of non-English speaking children and children of newcomers to the area to have Boards of Education make special provision for the training and integration of such children into community life; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That locals carry on a campaign to secure for children of migrant farm families equality of opportunity in schools in whatever area they may be residing."

"Whereas, There have been encouraging gains in 1952 in human relations, there have also been disturbing set-backs in outbreaks of violence, in adverse court decisions in legal suits against segregated school systems, and in Congressional approval of an immigration bill containing discriminatory provisions against Orientals, Southern and Eastern Europeans, and Negro colonials; and

"Whereas, This nation picture indicates a need for greater self-education; and

"Whereas, Former Conventions of the AFT have approved resolutions embodying requests that the research department provide bibliographies in regard to human relations;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the Research Department of the AFT be mandated by the Convention to accumulate and publicize the availability of printed and audio-visual materials on human relations, with emphasis on magazines and other entertainment for young people."

"Whereas, The Public Schools of the District of Columbia, the Nation's Capital, are organized on the basis of the race of child and teacher; and

"Whereas, These schools over a period of ninety years have proved unable to provide an adequate education for white or Negro child; and

"Whereas, These schools are undemocratic, unconstitutional, unequal, wasteful, not required by law, contrary to Judaic-Christian morality and ethics, and in conflict with the treaty obligations of the United States with the United Nations;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers in national convention condemn the segregated school system for the reasons stated above; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the A.F.T. support civic groups in the nation's capital working for the elimination of segregation; and

"BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED: That the A.F.T. express to the Senate and the House of Representatives and the Senate and House District Committees of the United States Congress, and to Representative Arthur Klein (N. Y.) its support of legislation to end segregation in the District of Columbia public schools."

"Whereas, The Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers requires that....no discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members because of race....; and

"Whereas, The 1951 AFT Convention re-affirmed this clause of the Constitution, emphasizing the national AFT policy that segregated locals are in violation of the Constitution; and

"Whereas, The existence of three locals in our nation's capital, one of white teachers, another of Negro teachers, and still another an integrated local of attendance officers, weakens the effectiveness of the A.F.T. and violates its basic principles;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the A.F.T. direct the national vice-presidents in the areas of segregated locals to set up joint committees instructed to prepare plans for integrating these locals; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the Executive Council take steps toward expediting elimination of segregated locals by carrying through in Washington, D. C., during 1953, integration of Locals 8, 27 and 867."

"Whereas, Integrated locals are desirable and necessary to achieve our democratic aims; and

"Whereas, a laissez-faire policy in thinking and action is a totally ineffective and self-destructing guide;



"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers reaffirm its national policy that segregated locals are a basic violation of Article 3, Section II of the AFT constitution which states: 'No discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members because of race, religious faith, or political activities or belief except that no applicant whose political actions are subject to totalitarian control such as Facist, Nazi, or Communist shall be admitted to membership'; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That, in chartering new locals, the Executive Council shall act in strict accordance with this provision of the national Constitution; and

"BE IT STILL FURTHER RESOLVED: That locals in arrears or in bad standing which apply for reinstatement, shall be so reinstated by the Executive Council in strict accordance with this provision of the national Constitution; and

"BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED: That the delegates present at the 1952 national convention recommend that the constitution of every local of the AFT should contain the above quoted article in line with national policy."

#### VI. AFT CONVENTION, August 20, 1953, pp. 45-46:

"Whereas, During the last ten years the American Federation of Teachers has been steadily working for the strict enforcement of Section II of Article III of its Constitution both in chartering new locals and in rechartering previously inactive locals; and

"Whereas, Section II was strengthened by the 1952 convention so as to prevent discrimination to 'applicants for membership'; and

"Whereas, Action has been taken by the 1953 convention to further amend the constitution whereby 'no charter of the AFT which defines or recognizes jurisdiction on the basis of race or color, or permits the practice of such jurisdiction, shall be recognized as valid, and the practice of any such local in limiting its membership on account of race or color, shall render its charter void;' and

"Whereas, Previous conventions have directed joint activities and joint committees of separate locals for the purpose of their working together for ultimate integration; and

"Whereas, Integration in several educational setups, both North and South, has taken place successfully and may provide helpful guides; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED: That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers appoint a special committee of Executive Council members to work with locals whose charters would be challenged by this amendment in planning an effective program to bring about integration of locals, such as encouraging workshops in their areas, in cooperation with sympathetic community groups, for planning effective means of preparing teachers, students and the community for integration, and finally to work out a constitution for an integrated local; and, be it further

"RESOLVED: That legal and financial support by the American Federation of Teachers be given to locals taking the proper steps toward integration where local or state laws or mores might seek to prevent such integration, and to give similar aid to locals in securing a just system in the selection of teachers and the protection of tenure; and, be it further

"RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers make a study or ask a research department of a university to make a study of integration in Army centers in the South and in other areas where integration has recently been carried out to learn the problems encountered and how they were solved."

#### VII. AFT CONVENTION, August 20, 1954, pp. 143-148:

"Whereas, The recent Supreme Court decisions outlawing the infamous 'separate but equal' doctrine have reaffirmed our faith in the spiritual and moral attributes of our Constitution and have raised significantly our stature as a democratic force in the global conflict; and

"Whereas, These decisions have substantiated in large measure the position of the American Federation of Teachers when they recognized the social and psychological implications of integration, the essential dignity of the individual and the trend of history toward desegregation; and

"Whereas, The American Federation of Teachers foresaw the important role that teachers must play in this human drama when it filed amicus curiae briefs in 1950, 1952 and 1953 before the Supreme Court against the 'separate but equal' educational dogma; when it ruled 'separate but equal' locals illegal within its own ranks; and when it integrated its own Washington, D. C. locals; and

"Whereas, Teachers in a democratic society, if they are truly dedicated to the ideals of the Hebrew-Christian ethic and the preservation of our heritage of freedom, cannot regard themselves simply as passive instruments of the law, but must take an active part in assuring that this decision will continue to be upheld and not subverted in any way; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED: That in the near future, when the Supreme Court will hear arguments as to the most feasible procedure to follow in carrying out its decisions, that the American Federation of Teachers make its experiences and those of other teachers available to the courts, and that we ask the American Federation of Labor to join us likewise in furnishing facts that will aid desegregation without compromise of principles; and, be it further

"RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers urge the American Federation of Labor nationally, and through its affiliated bodies, locally, to stand by us and the public school system they have done so much to create and further, to make it unmistakably clear that labor will insist on fair labor procedures so that no group of teachers or administrators will suffer unduly as America's public school march forward to higher achievements; and, be it finally

"RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers plan to give such help and assistance, including legal and financial, as is practical to secure compliance with such procedures as are adopted by the Court for the various states and districts, and that the American Federation of Teachers commend and publicize the districts that voluntarily eliminate segregation without waiting for mandatory orders."

"Whereas, The 1953 convention of the American Federation of Teachers amended the constitution to provide that 'No charter of the AFT which defines or recognizes jurisdiction on the basis of race or color, or permits the practice of such jurisdiction, shall be recognized as valid, and the practice of any such local in limiting its membership on account of race or color, shall render its charter void;' and

"Whereas, Previous conventions have directed joint activities and joint committees of separate locals for the purpose of their working together for ultimate integration; and

"Whereas, Integration in a host of educational set-ups, both North and South, has taken place successfully and may provide helpful guides; and

"Whereas, The Supreme Court decision on desegregation of schools has provided a powerful impetus toward desegregation in all areas; and

"Whereas, The 1953 convention of the American Federation of Teachers instructed the Executive Council to appoint a special committee of Executive Council members to work with locals, whose charters would be challenged by this amendment, in order to bring about integration of locals; and

"Whereas, The 1953 convention instructed the national office of the American Federation of Teachers to give legal and financial support to locals taking the proper steps toward integration where

local or state laws or mores might work to prevent such integration, and to give similar aid to locals in securing a just system in the selection of teachers and the protection of tenure; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED: That any locals not yet completely integrated be required to submit to the Executive Council in writing a report of the progress made in the past year toward integration and of their plans of action to complete the process of integration; and, be it further

"RESOLVED: That the Executive Council report to the next convention on whether the progress achieved fulfills the mandate of the 1953 convention decisions; and, be it finally

"RESOLVED: That all locals of the American Federation of Teachers which have not made sufficient progress toward integration in the opinion of the Executive Council be recommended for suspension to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers."

#### VIII. AFT CONVENTION, August 19, 1955, pp. 141-147:

"Whereas, The Supreme Court decisions of May 17, 1954 and May 31, 1955 give national sanction and support for the abolition of racial segregation in public school systems; and

"Whereas, The 1955 decision further voided federal, state, and local laws in violation of that decision and the decision of 1954; and

"Whereas, The 1953 Convention of the American Federation of Teachers specifically directed segregated locals to integrate; and

"Whereas, The Executive Council appears to have been negligent in carrying out the directives of the 1953 A.F.T. Convention Resolution No. 23; and

"Whereas, The American Federation of Teachers in its 1955 Convention passed a resolution calling upon its affiliated bodies to work for the implementation of the Supreme Court decisions; now, therefore be it

"RESOLVED: That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers report to this 1955 Convention the progress which has been made, and that the Executive Council again direct locals not yet integrated to take the necessary steps to desegregate; and, be it further

"RESOLVED: That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers implement the desegregation of these locals through measures appropriate to the specific locale and in accordance with the 1952, 1953, and 1954 resolutions aforementioned; and be it further

"RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers call upon all of its locals to cooperate with the American Federation of Labor to the end of ending segregation in the public schools."

(The following amendments were adopted:)

"1. That the Executive Council be instructed to, with the guidance of the Attorney, formulate specific questions regarding conformity to all parts of the Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers; and that these specific questions be sent to the locals not later than October 1st, and that the answers thereto be received by the Executive Council not later than December 1st; and that furthermore, the Executive Council be then instructed to act compliant with the Constitution in relation to and in consideration of the specific data received.

"That the Executive Council be directed to suspend the charter of any local whose constitution is in violation of Article IV, Section 8 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers after June 1, 1956, such action to be reported to the 1956 Convention for approval.

"2. That the Executive Council make a thorough investigation into the affairs of the other locals of the South which have not communicated with the Executive Council on the matter of integration, and if, upon investigation, insufficient progress has been made in the direction of integration, then the charters of such locals so investigated be suspended, too."

#### IX. AFT CONVENTION, August 24, 1956, pp. 124-125:

"Resolution No. 21 on Segregated Locals has already been acted upon by the passing of the Amended Minority Report of the Executive Council on Segregated Locals by a two-thirds vote. Thus, after long, earnest, and heated debate, we have taken another step toward compliance with our Constitution and our conscience.

"From a legal and moral point of view the existence of segregated locals within the AFT has been at variance with our Constitution and our concept of democracy. This has been increasingly obvious in the past five years with the integration of the Armed Forces, the Supreme Court decision on the 'separate but equal' doctrine and the integration of 300,000 public school children in southern states.

#### Universal Declaration of Human Rights





"Particularly, the Democratic Human Relations Committee has been concerned with the problems over some ten years for we have felt that teachers could not honestly teach children democratic living if we did not practice it ourselves. We have observed that the urging of 'integration techniques' is of little value unless there is a definitive statement of law and immediate implementation of it--that the procrastination of justice is tantamount to the denial of justice.

"Accordingly, we refer the Executive Council to our Convention Report of 1955 which summarizes and reaffirms our national constitution policies, and our programs on integration. We recommend:

- "1. The Executive Council of the AFT and the office of the President should make itself available for aid that locals now in violation of our Constitution may request in good faith,
- "2. The Executive Council take steps with or without requests from the locals concerned to investigate and aid in the possibilities of integration."

#### X. AFT CONVENTION, August 23, 1957, pp. 86-87:

"Whereas: A program to enunciate and defend the civil rights of each and every citizen in this country should be the responsibility of all organizations concerned with the worth and dignity of the individual; and

"Whereas: There is an increasing need for better understanding and manifest good will in inter-group relations; and

"Whereas: Organized Labor, committed to a program of brotherhood and opportunities for free and good lives for all workers, is greatly concerned about civil rights and inter-group relations;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers request its locals to set up civil rights committees if such do not already exist;

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Teachers make available to the nation through the *American Teacher* and the press a preliminary statement from Local No. 6, Washington, D. C. to serve as a guide to locals in communities with similar problems so that these other locals may be encouraged to make their own objective studies, and statements involving the integration of their own schools."

#### STATEMENT FROM LOCAL 6 REGARDING INTEGRATION

"Local 6, Washington, D. C. testifies that integration has been in effect in the District of Columbia schools since 1954 and that it has worked.

"The following observations are submitted:

- "1. The nation-wide breakdown of educational standards and performance as reflected in the Washington schools is but typical of the national trend and especially the result of discredited 'separate but equal' education.
- "2. Moreover, this nation-wide breakdown has fallen with particular force on the children of poor and under-privileged groups, regardless of race.
- "3. The Washington situation substantiates the findings of Myrdal and other sociologists and social psychologists.
- "4. The crying need for remedial work within the schools has been more clearly brought into focus.
- "5. The need for coordination of the schools with all agencies for the welfare of the community has been evidenced."

#### XI. AFT CONVENTION, August 28, 1958, pp. 93-94:

"Whereas, The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that racially segregated public schools are in violation of the Constitution of the United States and,

"Whereas, The Supreme Court of the United States has declared that the constitutional rights of our citizens requires that racial integration in public education be implemented 'with all deliberate speed,' and

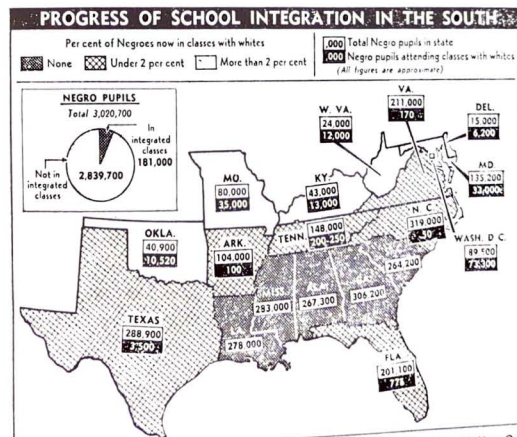
"Whereas, There is a strong possibility that some public school systems in Arkansas and Virginia and other southern states may be closed rather than operated in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States,

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the AFT that: It reaffirm its support of the historical decisions of the Supreme Court declaring racial segregation in public education to be in violation of the Constitution of the United States and the democratic principle of equality of educational opportunity, and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED by the AFT that: It call upon states and local communities to provide equal integrated educational opportunities for all children, and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED by the AFT that: The AFT call upon the President of the United States and the Congress to provide forthwith full educational opportunities on federal property in any state or locality which closes its schools to avoid compliance with the Supreme Court decisions on racial segregation in public education, and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED by the AFT: That it call upon the President of the United States to support such federal emergency school systems out of any emergency funds available, or by immediately calling a special session of Congress to provide such funds, or by such means as may be necessary to protect the national interest in providing adequate equal integrated educational opportunities for all children within the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States."



Figures, from Southern Education Reporting Service, are best estimates available and do not reflect what may happen in New Orleans and Houston, under orders to integrate.



"The following resolution in connection with integration and teacher participation in policy making was then also, through regular motion, adopted by the convention.

### INTEGRATION

"Whereas, Democracy is a mockery when citizens are deprived of equal educational opportunities,

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That integration proceed at the direction of the courts and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we oppose any tactics that would serve to delay such integration."

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Again last year, the American Federation of Teachers expressed concern in an expanded field of civil rights by publishing *The Status of Equal Job Opportunity in America*. From that publication, these words were set forth: "The American Federation of Teachers has been a leader in urging laws to eliminate job bias. The 1950 AFT Convention approved the following resolution: 'That the Congress of the United States be petitioned to enact a Fair Employment Practice Law for the States and Territories of the United States, including the District of Columbia.'

"The 1952 AFT Convention took positive action concerning another phase of discrimination by passing the following resolution: 'That the AFT promote legislation which will guarantee equal pay for equal work in all occupations.'"

In the same study it was further noted: "Sixteen states have had effective laws banning job bias. Three additional states were added to the list this year. The total of nineteen states, with over 75,000,000 residents, now are protected by these laws."

Finally, these conclusions and recommendations:

1. That the American Federation of Teachers has engaged in a pioneer effort to rid American education of segregated schools.
2. That the American Federation of Teachers' interest and leadership greatly influenced the thinking of all Americans, including the Courts.
3. That great progress has been achieved, but still additional progress is needed to guarantee all American youth integrated schools.
4. That future programs in civil rights must go beyond integrated schools to include such worthy goals as equal job opportunities for all citizens.
5. That the *New Frontier* should be an important part of this worthy movement.

PRICE: \$.15  
GSR:ebt  
OEIU28  
AFL-CIO  
February 9, 1961